/17 cont./

848 Preparation for achieving the upright position is started off by the mother, since when he is three months or sometimes less, she stands him on his feet, supporting him by the armpits and, later, the child will do the same by himself, holding on to his mother's shoulders. When he is going about his usual life on the floor, once he can sit up alone, he finds opportunities to make use of his legs, and once he comes upon something to grip he can pull himself up. With such help he starts off on his first steps, and from the tenth or eleventh month (the fourteenth at the latest), with individual differences, he starts to take his first steps without assistance. Then his mother will fix below the inner eaves /alero/ of the house a horizontal rail of a handy length and height for the child to practice his newly acquired skill.

848 At two years the infant walks all about the house as well as
857 along the paths that lead to the well or the corn field. If it is
231 a boy, the father, the older brothers, or the uncles like to take him with them when they go to near-by places to graze the livestock, so that he may learn and become strong. On these excursions the child begins learning his future work, first by observation and later by participating, when his age permits, until he becomes expert. It usually happens that the Guajiro shows a marked preference even as a child for some certain class of livestock and so, when he is a little bigger, he is put in charge of these, a responsibility he discharges with pleasure during the greater part of the day in the company of his father, uncle, or brothers. After an early breakfast he collects the part of the flock or herd he is responsible for, or he brings them out of the corral where they have slept. He pastures them during the day, never letting them out of his sight, lying down in the shade during the hottest hours of the day, or returning to his hammock at home if not too far away. Toward nightfall he returns home with the livestock to water them and put them into the corrals, or after counting them he leaves them near by in a safe place close to the house.

/23 cont./

551 chronologically because of things that happen or because an alteration in appearance gives rise to such a change, which supplant the former one.

Games. On general lines, the play /lúdicas/ activities in 857 which children take part are in direct relation to the division of 462 labor by sex. Thus, it is strictly forbidden for them to amuse themselves in games which in real life do not correspond to their sex. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to play with dolls or to cook, and girls must not practice archery. The father will openly oppose and invoke all his authority in the small family, to keep his sons, even in play, from doing girl's work. This sense of the division of work which controls their games causes the child, alone or backed up by the influence of his father and of his maternal uncles, to refuse to do anything which does not correspond to the activities of his sex, as it is believed that games or pastimes different from those traditionally established for each sex create a liking for, or a tendency toward, the work of the opposite sex. The Guajiro wants his men to have all the accepted masculine attributes, and his women to be wholly feminine. One of the ways of violating this ideal is shown by intervening in activities of the other sex, either in play when children or in work when adult. Thus, the father will say to the little girl, "You are not to practice archery. Are you a tomboy that you should do such a thing?" And the woman who works on harnesses for animals they also consider very mannish and lowered in her standing as a woman.

Children -- both male and female -- in La Guajira take part in two kinds of play lúdicas: games properly so called and pastimes /24/ which serve as an apprenticeship and training for their work as adults.

Among the first and as a pursuit for boys, one may include 524 games with ropes which, although they do develop manual quickness and ability, are not played for this purpose. These games are practiced either alone or in a group. In the former case, the object is to gain command of the technique and to learn to

/24 cont./

524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

Spinning tops is another game which is played with notable intensity and variations, as the boys learn and practice the different ways known of handling this toy in their country, such as dancing it on the hand, beating the opponent by smashing his top with the opposing one, etc. For this game a special vocabulary and rules have been established as well as techniques to win when taking the offensive or tactics for defense.

They also play with glass marbles or, when lacking these, palm seeds with the edible endocarp. For example, they make "houses" by placing three marbles in the form of a triangle as a base and superimposing a fourth. The game consists in knocking them down with a fifth marble. He who manages to do this takes for himself the marbles or seeds originally placed. Another variation consists of several players placing their marbles on the floor. In strict order each one tries, by flicking his marble with his thumb levering against the index finger, to hit the marbles of his opponents or to place his own at a previously arranged distance from theirs, to win and get their marbles.

● 25 [26] But these games are practically only for town children or those kept in school, as the average child has little leisure to play, for from a very early age he is a valuable work unit who must concentrate his activities on carrying out some task, leaving him little time for such diversions. Also, he lives isolated in very lonely places and consequently will rarely meet companions to play with.

[24] Boys also play ball games, which they learn at school, and they learn to act in the Festival of the Kid at harvest time when they take the parts of small animals, children, gifts, or ornaments.

Imitative play activities are the pretending and exercise of adult activities. The child amuses himself, for example, by practicing /24/ hunting, stalking and killing small animals such

/26 cont./

857 as the machorro /edible lizard/, or shooting arrows at something white or at pigeons. These are his diversions when he is herding at the times when the animals are resting or quietly feeding.

As a pastime he practices the exercise of controlling the animals he is in charge of and especially his skill in subduing and lassoing them. This gives him great satisfaction as well as training him for his future life. Also of great interest is horse riding and competing in races, which stimulate competition and /help in/ acquiring training.

Thus, the Guajiro boy can learn and play at the same time, and these activities are permitted, as his relatives find them advantageous, since they fit him for the activities he will have to carry out as an adult. Moreover, the life of the Guajiro boy is spent for the most part in the woods, and his home life is reduced practically to the hours of nightly rest and meals. During the day he is only in the company of his older brothers, his maternal uncle, or his father, and it is while with them that he may indulge in the luxury of playing, or at the times when he is free from chores. For this reason and because one sex is not allowed to take part in the play activities of the other, the possibilities of mixed games are very limited.

In spite of the endeavors of the mothers to keep their sons by every means from playing, or getting together, with the sons [64] of neighbors -- because of the danger there exists of incurring a compensation payment if a companion of another clan is injured -- at times they do join us, and it is then that they play the games just described. The boys also look for companions to help them in their chores, such as carrying a message, bringing in an animal, etc.

The girls' play activities are almost always of a type useful in training them for feminine duties. The girls, spending more time at home than the boys, have less chance of escaping from family pressure, which in the poorer classes requires them to assist their mothers in household duties and care of the younger children from a very early age. When they belong to better-class families who have female servants or slaves, they pass their

/25 cont./

857 time playing with dolls, and in make-believe cooking, and visiting, activities they will be carrying out when older.

During all the time of our stay in La Guajira, we saw no games specially designed for girls beyond those just stated, but it should be noted that when they are together with other girls of their own age they are quite happy /26/ to carry out the household duties with which they are charged, such as bringing water from the well, looking for firewood, etc., as they take advantage of the opportunity to climb trees to look for fruit or simply to swing in the branches, activities which their mothers complain about because they tear their clothes, for which they are punished.

The only mixed activity we had occasion to observe between boys and girls of six to twelve years was the game of sweethearts; they made jokes and played at being annoyed or unwilling and imitated all the attitudes of a couple in love. /27/

II

THE CHILD IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

Punishment. Encouragement. Childish Reaction to Punishment. Training.

861 The Guajiro Indians expect their children to comply with the established norms of conduct, and if they break these rules they are punished in different ways. This reaction is not systematic, as breaking a rule does not mean that punishment will necessarily follow. When it produces no harmful effect, a lapse may be passed over, but if it should cause serious harm the child is punished in consequence. In the question of punishment it would appear that the parents follow the principle of accumulation, that is to say, to put up patiently with a series of misdeeds on the part of the children and at a certain moment to take advantage of an opportunity, at times insignificant, to show their authority and establish the precedent that their orders and wishes are to be

/29 cont./

867 positive or negative. He must fulfill as if he were a small adult the obligations that are imposed on him, carry out the chores that he is charged with, and assume satisfactorily the responsibilities he has to discharge. /30/

867 Thus, boys and girls must carry messages from one place to another, from the house to the fields, for example. The girls 857 bring firewood from the woods and work in the kitchen, etc., while the boys carry out efficiently the pasturing of the herds. These are positive orders. Of negative nature there are, for example, those that forbid the climbing of trees for fear they will tear their clothes; sneaking away from home to go among neighbors, especially when the neighbors belong to a different clan, as the mother always fears that if for some reason or other her son has a quarrel with a playmate and they come to blows, or if directly or indirectly he causes blood to flow, she will be responsible economically for the damage done as immediate compensation payment will be demanded. They likewise fear that some criminal act might be committed by the children, the consequences of which would fall on the instigator.

867 3. Children should never fail to tell the truth; even though what they are saying is the product of childish imagination, this does not excuse or mitigate such a lack of truth; it is considered as an open lie by the family and clearly merits punishment. The child should never make a statement that is not true; that is to say, he is prohibited from lying in any possible form or manner. The Guajiro believes that if children lie they do it, deliberately, and if the vice is not corrected it will have troublesome consequences both in the family life and in the whole social collectivity because there is a compensation payment for slander, deceit, etc. Besides it could bring about difficult situations between individuals of the clan, with lamentable consequences. One exception appears to us to be that adults and even the older children boast of their strength, of their prowess in hunting, in war, and in their love affairs, and even about their economic standing. Frequently, they are imaginary happenings that they boast and crow about.

/42 cont./

868 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art,
883 which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are
462 determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

/43 cont./

857 462 they are oriented toward and are practiced in terms of this biological division. Let us analyze this separately:

a) Boys: We saw when speaking of games how adult men are opposed to a mother's obliging a boy to carry out feminine jobs as they think that such work degrades him, means a loss of manly dignity, will cause him to become effeminate, and will militate against their making of him a brave man, the ideal of the Guajiro. The boy begins the activities corresponding to his sex at an early age, almost as soon as he can follow his father or favorite maternal uncle about in their daily pastoral work, especially the first-born, as the father, as we have already noted, expresses his wish for the first-born to be a boy so that he can join him in his comings and goings.

857 462 231 So from the time he is very young, the boy rises at three in the morning, goes in search of the livestock that sleep in the corrals or fields /44/ near by, and drives them to water. During the day he keeps the herd together in the places where there is grass, not going too far away from the wells, watching them continually to prevent thefts, especially of the young calves by wild animals, or those entangled in brambles; during the long summer he learns the job of casimbero /"water controller" -- Tr./, that is to say, to wait at the edge of the casimba (1) for the arrival of the animals who are in search of

1. An artificial well.

water, in order to give them enough, putting it in the troughs that surround the well. He learns to milk, a job that is generally given to the men, though in grand houses it is frequently done by the female bond servants and slaves. He also learns from the grownups to whose care he is entrusted how to handle newly born animals and sick ones, to lasso them, to master them in order to brand them; to mark goats by a cut in the ear; to break in horses; to recognize the good points of a saddle horse; to track an animal that is lost by the tracks it leaves,

/44 cont./

857 462 231 an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

857 462 234

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 462 241 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 462 415 [531] To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 462 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/46 cont./

A joint duty of children of both sexes is the care of their younger brothers or sisters when circumstances require it, though this is mainly performed by girls when there are any of the right age.

b) Girls. Little girls five years old are given small tasks, such as carrying messages, going to the fields to take some small item to the father or an uncle, drawing water in vessels so that the elders may bring it on burros up to the house. At six or seven they begin to do some cooking. From ten to twelve years, that is to say at, the prepubertal age, they are initiated into the different ways of weaving, and they can go alone from one settlement to another. It is at this time that they occasionally have sexual relations with their brothers or with their father.

Almost from the time she can look after herself -- toward three or four years of age -- the girl assists her mother in all her work, especially when she is the eldest and when she belongs to a family with few economic resources. In the kitchen she learns to prepare food such as mazamorra, bollos /rolls/, and arepa /ground-corn griddlecakes/; to hull corn and grind it with the traditional equipment, the pestle and mortar made of stone; to light and keep the fire going; to handle the pots on it and build new hearths; and, in time, to prepare the various kinds of chicha and the customary soups for special occasions, to make use of the different fruits, both wild and cultivated, and to serve up various local dishes such as sancocho de chivo /goat-meat stew/, the way of preparing meat etc., until, having arrived at the moment of puberty, she is on the whole acquainted with all the customary culinary procedures.

Other work they are taught to do quite young is fetching water and firewood as well as a series of household chores such as house cleaning, taking care of the younger children, and at times feeding them and keeping them clean. They are sent to the woods to bring in the burros that are used for carrying water or fruit or serve for the women to ride on. /46/

They also start to lend a hand in the harvest and accompany the women when they collect wild fruits such as olives,

/46 cont./

iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastised, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets.

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.'

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[647] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "pieldandi" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
679 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serrania Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

§43 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman
§44 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
[158] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is
[814] on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[159] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

§45 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
53 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, *oushi* or *aushi* for the father, *ai* or *ai* for the mother. Thus, a father may be called *Nushijuan* after a son or *Sushijuana* after a daughter.

● §47 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
§48 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

§35 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[836] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
[836 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
79] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

§51 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no